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RAYS OF LIGHT

— ON THE —

SOCIAL PROBLEM.

— BY —

A. E. SCHADE.

And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. *Luke 6, 31.*

1886.
GERMAN PUBLISHING HOUSE,
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Lightnings.

The perplexities by which Modern Society is embarrassed, are called labor-troubles. An unfortunate expression from the beginning. For it conveys the insinuation, that for these disturbances the wage worker, especially the foreigner was responsible, as if he had smuggled heretical ideas of Socialism into our National life.

The task devolved upon us, consists in dealing with such ideas. The investigation must proceed cautiously, impartially — still, as we are intending an unbiased selfcriticism, we must be allowed frankness without fear or favor.

We are in a chronic state of industrial WARFARE. But we cannot stop to servey its forces, facts, figures, although it would be worth while to ascertain, how much the clamour is exaggerated, which accompanies it, or how much is ignored purposely.

Neither can we expect the consummation of PEACE (desirable as it would be, deplorable also if it meant the ruin of either party) we cannot expect it from unctious treatices, much less from a plain talk, as this is.

We dare not flatter ourselves, that in the interest of peace an APPEAL TO REASON would be of any avail, if the LABORERS JUST CLAIMS are not considered and satisfied, if that PREJUDICE ABOUT HIS INFERIORITY the characteristic of KNOW-NOTHINGISM, is not discontinued; if he is always made to feel it and advantage is taken of it.

Nor must the other side be denounced continually, if SENTIMENTAL APPEALS TO BROTHERLY LOVE are not recognized, as long as preposterous exactions are attempted, as long as that MISTRUST against humane intentions of capitalists is

nourished, that suspicion, which is the SHADOW OF EITHER IGNORANCE or of the mischiefmaker. And surely, harmony is impossible as long as that indifference is practiced against Bible and Church by both parties, which is the consequence of the DECLINE OF RELIGION.

All we want, is to signalize the sources of dangers, to investigate what impediments are in the way to pacification and universal prosperity. This will soon lead us to an analytic discernment of the Spirit of our time.

Since we hold our postulate as undisputed, namely, THAT OUR PRESENT IMPLICATIONS ARE MERELY THE NATURAL RESULT OF ADVANCED CIVILIZATION ; it follows that we have to admit that no class deserves all the blame alone, but also that no class of men can refute its share of common guiltiness nor excape part of its punishment and that every single individual must take active part in personal and social reform.

By way of introduction, and for the purpose of this essay, it will be sufficient to state, that of all the outward symptoms of the sickness of our body politic the worst would be, if the vital energies were so stupified, as neither to be sensitive of the malady, nor to seek a cure for it. But since by the recent opening of discussion the reaction of health is perceptible, we need not pronounce the case a hopeless one.

I would have been glad however, to see the upper grades of society represented more numerous at such a lecture as that of Dr. Gladden. From experience I know, that instruction is wanted up there as much as below.

Nevertheless, we will not augur a bad omen, but rather gain confidence in assuming the fact that all parties concerned : aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletarians are

acknowledging the assertion of the following postulate to be true, although formulated by Socialism: Universal progress has produced such complications, as require a speedy adjustment and the intelligent attention of all, who, having the cause of human wellfare at heart, are above suspicion of selfinterest.

Inasmuch now, as we all are interested, and all avow philanthropic inclinations and abhorr the brutal behaviour of bad men, it becomes our duty, to shift responsibilities and to shun the crisis no longer. Else it is certain, the fruits of civilization will be jeopardized first in this most prosperous nation of the globe, where by virtue of the widest range of personal liberty, precautions against a social upheaval seemed superfluous.

The best symptom of convalescence it will be, if we can stand a conscientious criticizm of our state of affairs and of the undercurrent of Modern Thought; if we accept the situation and accustom ourselves with it as a state of transition towards a new epoch of social development, without venturing to reverse the wheels of progress; if we become clear on the question, whether we will conform matters to sound EVOLUTION or risk a terrible REVOLUTION; and if we agree on and employ the true remedy.

Right here however the difficulty presents itself, where the latter is to be found. Quack devices are numerous.

There are in the first place the many adherents to the Laizzes-faire-policy. Their arguments have become sterile, yet they are proposed again and again as doses of soporifics. We are told, there is plenty of silver, work more than enough even on Sundays, "hands" idle everywhere, breadstuff cornered in immense quantities. Only time is scarce,

and good will towards each other. Hence friction everywhere, all seem to be moved, but by egotism only, until the wheels are stopping.

It would seem advisable, to let well enough alone, not provoke an issue, not precipitate an explosion, if it was not for the army of malcontents growing rapidly, if in proportion to the amount of forced idleness, the agility and success of revolutionists was not increasing to an alarming extent. Whilst on the one hand cunning schemers know how to mystify public observation and to throw it off its guard; whilst oath-bound conspiracies are fastly gaining sympathy and meeting encouragement: we are on the other hand cautioned to hush up the voice of vigilance. The demands of the "proletarian" are treated with contempt, and the entreaties of the Christian Clergy are ignored here and misrepresented yonder.

Thus the APATHY AND LETHARGY, into which higher society is lulled, reposing on capital with an after-us-the-deluge-air; and the IMPOTENCY into which a large class of sober laborers are intimitated, whose common sense is not yet deranged by socialism, all this is enough to drive into despondency even him, who sees the dangers, knows how much might be done and how easely preventative steps could be taken, in order to avert further disintegration of the social organism.

It is astonishing, how far antagonism is carried. Both classes pretend a studied, artificial UNCONCERN, while it is manifest that their own and the general wellfare depends on their mutual relationship being normal.

This policy then, not only futile, but pregnant with danger ought to be given up at last and at once.

Here another doctor introduces himself. It is the Social theorizer, quite late after the organizer has administered domestic remedies already. He is skilled in vivid descriptions of the contrasts of society life. He mixes his social heresies with elements of truth, calculated "to deceive those, who received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved, but believed strong delusions". He popularizes and promulgates with dexterity those heterogeneous ideas, which false physicians (the pharmakoi of Revel. 22, 15) have composed.

Listen for instance, how WARD in his "DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY" II. pag. 244, is dispensing poison: "Even if it be true, that the battle of Tours decided the question whether Mohammedanism or Christianity was to be the prevailing religion of Europe, nevertheless, it was a question of minor importance, which way that battle was decided. The people of Europe would have been the same people, whether they followed a crescent or a cross, whether they worshiped in a cathedral or in a mosque."

As in this quotation religion is despised, so in another place (pag. 249) the state is held up to derision, by comparing it to stockcompanies, and the authority of government is made ridiculous by such a sentence: "Therefore, if government could be in the hands of social scientists instead of social empirics, it might be elevated to the rank of applied science or to the simple application of the scientific principal of social phenomena."

Presuming that you are acquainted with SPENCERS philosophy, that you heard of MARX's deductions, that you were not too busy to study WARDS DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY, then you will discern the tendency of such sophistry. By the

"if's" these men are making people believe, that the facts of real, historical development ought to have shaped themselves according to an evolutionists opinion, and that since the "if's" had proved the beneficent result of an overthrow of government and religion, all authority should go into atoms of individualism, all civilization be dissolved into barbarism.

All matters of metaphysical research Ward calls superstition, and he is not ashamed of his destructive attempts against religion when he asserts pag. 286 ff. "In the lower stages of development, when intelligence was at its minimum and credulity at its maximum, religion, however irrational, could and did stand alone ; but as intelligence increased and credulity diminished, it begann to feel the need of support, which the priesthood, always the most astute part of community, succeeded in constructing by attaching ethical principles and doctrines to the notice of a future state of existence, and elaborating a system of future rewards and punishments. Instead, therefore, of considering what morality owes to religion, it may yet become a question how far natural morality has heen lowered by such an association with supernatural belief."

"In like manner, instead of considering the elevating effect of the contemplation of the attributes of a personal anthropomorphic deity, it is a fair speculation how much higher the human mind would have risen — had no such explanation as a spiritual being or a personal God ever suggested itself."

Enough of repeating such blasphemy. It would not have been necessary to take the trouble of copying such passages from the infidels catechism, if they did not prove the connection between Dynamic Sociology and the inscrip-

tion in the hall of Communists in Paris: "God is the enemy of mankind."

You will now understand my allusion to the manner, in which the poison of materialism has been spread; how even those, supposed to be illiterate, talk on their way to the factories and in the streetcars about these doctrines, so very intoxicating, so purely realistic, so well suited for their imaginary or their real grievances — and how scepticism is propagated.

Until recently, materialism under the guise of science, was mental diet of a large part of the so called "educated" exclusively. But these heartless, soulless speculations have leaked through to the so called "masses". For them they were reduced into the vernacular by certain expounders, and THEY have been as prompt in imitating the learned, as servant girls show acuteness in copying their mistresses fashions.

Thus materialism has followed liberalism with a vengeance. It is the repetition of the same process, which inaugurated the French Revolution only a century ago. Must we suffer it to culminate in another Reign of Terror?

State and church are being undermined. A hundred thousand copies of anarchistic weeklies now proclaim with the fire of enthusiasm the complete overthrow of both, and these papers are even accomodated by the U. S. Mail.

We are helped on in the way of discovery by a story, in which a fictitious reporter is enlightened by an agitator.

I quote it from a pamphlet, published by the SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY and recently distributed gratuitously among the laboring men, on the very day when I tried in vain to buy a book on Socialism in our book-stores:

Says the Socialist: "I only state that socialism is not anxious to further ESSENTIALLY the overthrow of present society, because the current of events is pushing in that direction any way. Meanwhile there are left chances enough to display a wholesome revolutionary activity. This will concentrate itself upon two issues. FIRST, the laborers and classes with indentical interests must be organized, in order to defend themselves against severer oppression. Favorable circumstances must be seized, every opportunity must be embraced to take the offensive, to gain shorter hours of labor, the prohibition of labor competitors under a certain age, the establishment of departments of labor-statistics, equalization of wages etc. — by means of legislation, or what would be still better by direct and immediate introduction. To obtain these ends and to accelerate the attainments of our final aim in general, EVERY APPROPRIATE INSTRUMENTALITY IS RECOMMENDABLE.

On all occasions for strife, in this daily fight for rights attainable, for these PRELIMINARY realizations, the laborer will be trained to an apprehension of the FINAL objects. His instincts will become sharpened, he will find out, who are his true friends, he will get accustomed to the idea that a lasting change for the better is only possible by a general overthrow of the modern system of society, and he will act accordingly. Nothing in the world can then corrupt his visions and nullify his efforts. He is animated by the all-absorbing thought, of consecrating his whole life to the emancipation of the laboring class. "Here, the socialist continues, is the point where we enter the SECOND STAGE, where we apply our lever".

"When the laborer is ripe for the appreciation of our

designs, we must show him, what is to take the place of the old order of things, which he is now ready to root out entirely. He will comprehend that quickly. He will see the practicability of cooperative organization at once. This intelligence is of eminent value, because immediatly after the annihilation of the old social fabrik (which may occur in many fights on a small scale, or in a few but more powerful pitched battles) there must be ready a new system and set up in working order at once; so that anarchy may not reign to defeat the great purpose. Else occasion for reactionary measures would be given, which must be made impossible."

This is the job, the Labor Federation is trying to accomplish. Put any active member of organized labor under cross examination, and you will elicit the fact, that they are all in harmony with such principles of the International Council, to which every trades-union and secret order is tributary.

If the foregoing should not be sufficient to afford us an insight into the various affiliations and dark and deep designs of the present amalgamations, in spite of their occasional denials and of the artful controversies, tending to mystify the bourgeoisie — if the above quotations are not sufficient, we might quote the DEFINITION OF COOPERATION from the manifesto of the Laborers Association, held in Baltimore 1883:

"The state of affairs, which the old political parties try to uphold, is obnoxious to the wellbeing of the people. In order to abolish this system, and to exchange it for cooperative production and for a just distribution of labor products, we demand that all conditions of obtaining a liveli-

hood: as soil, implements of industry, all means of production, traffic and transportation, must as soon as possible, become the common property of the state, that state where the laborer rules. — — — In a word, beware of spurious imitations. — Neglect no opportunity, no appropriate measure to fortify yourselves and your cause, and to weaken your enimies."

Another paper, circulated by the Cincinnati Congress, touching the eight hour movement, shows again, how all secret labor organizations act in silent concert and give as reason for infering to all of them Communism pure and simple. It is denied, many laborers are indeed ignorant of the identity of their respective organizations with "the beast that was and is not and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit." The same mystification is practiced now, as in the time when it made its first appearance, when Bismark compared it to the "veiled prophet of Khorassan", whose hideousness was veiled by imposing drapery.

The paper referred to is arguing fair enough, but that instigators of turbulence are scheming for quite another purpose as the eight hour demand, is obvious enough also. Our disgust must not hinder us to get thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of such harrangues.

"To the question, whether the beneficent consequences of such a gain would last long, we must answer emphatically: No! And why not? Because the cursed system of capital-production, under which we live and suffer, will make EVERY REFORM, gained under favorable circumstances, illusive and void — — Then again the old course is repeated, ending in general defeat and annihilation of countless existences. So it must repeat itself, if nothing is done to

prevent it. If this be so, it may be asked, why undertake the battle for the eight hour system? Why not at once proceed further and take measures, which would reform the sad condition presently, more effectively, and with one stroke?

"We answer, yes to better the present condition, there is no better advice now, than the projected shortening of working hours, which will help at least for a few years. But to OVERTHROW the present order, that of course is most effective, that is after all the only way to solve the problem once and forever."

"Are you ready for it? Go ahead, we are with you. And a traitor is he, who talks delay or amelioration! Form yourselves into labor legions, furnish yourselves with arms! Have you none of them? Here are the armories of the militia cramed full of repeating rifles and war amunition! Throw the police into the gutter, the militia into the rivers! Drag the venal politicians and corrupted judges from their seats of power! Chase the hyenas of capital out of town and the abject priesthood out of their temples. Go down to the mortgaged farmers in the country, put the gun into their hands. Complete your connections from city to city! Burst the mercenary legislatures, whip the profligate congress out of the Capitol! Take possession of the land that belongs to you, of the factories, machineries which you have created, of the houses, which you have build yourselves! Why hesitate? Are you not counted by hundreds of thousands, by millions? Who can resist you, if you are only firm in your determination? Down the Avenues. March,, forward march! Allons enfants de la patrie! — "

"The eight hour day is the lever, by which the giant "proletariat" now lying on the ground, suffering the kick-

ings of his oppressors, is put upon his feet, so that after a while he may be able to use his fists! And then, woe to his enemies!"

This is the way Dynamic Sociology is to be applied. Yet, although I found that 70,000 anarchistic papers in the German language alone are scattered over the land daily or weekly, I trust in the good common sense of the majority, who are not jet infected. They will rather believe and be guided by a different spirit. They know that such a course is not progress but reaction; they will not commit the blunder of the peasants, who in Luthers time mistook Reformation for Revolution, only injuring their righteous cause by their frenzy and retarding the fulfillment of their aspirations for three centuries.

As stated in the beginning, we want sound development, no slavery to capital, worse than feudalism, nor the tyranny of mobs. Hence we do emphatically discountenance such a course of Socialism and kindred spirits as detrimental to all progress of civilization, of which we too, know a thing or two. Only in times of peace can we prosper, and we therefore declare our set purpose that we do not propose submission any longer to neither the oppressive dominance of cold cash nor the terrors of red hot radicalism. Both are unendurable!

But remember! The friction, occuring in the machinery of our industrial system, so highly developed, so swiftly rotating, is not all caused by personal malignity; such friction is unavoidable, yet it may and must be mitigated by proper lubrication.

Let me here, however, interrupt your expectation for that beneficent oil, for that olive branch which the dove brings

across the uproar, for inserting the statement, that in my opinion neither silver nor liquor will yield such ointment.

Liquor? I hear a protest against such a strange association of ideas — how can you drag the liquor question into the labor controversy? But I am bold enough to answer, that I mind to drag the Sunday question in also! You see it pertains to my analysis of the spirit of the times. I beg the question, of declining the responsibility for this association of ideas. It is not my invention. But I cannot help, noticing without intuition the connection which really exists. Has not the strife been carried into that field, and is it not raging there at this very moment? Is not the "League of Law and Order" met by its spectral image, the "League of Liberty and Justice"? Is not its attitude an outrageous insult to Christianity, this source and corner stone of morality, when reprimanted, that it ought to be meek and thankful for being tolerated at all? Are not the "Spirits of Materialism" (think of them), just as foaming with ire in Turnerhall as at the scene of the last strike, in the locomotive yard at St. Louis? Do we not witness, dare we not testify to the fact, that the war between capital and labor for the elevation of the latter, is made a pretext for aggression against the fundamental institutions of our social system? Indeed, things take a similar shape, as we hear the strikers complain of, that their cause is always damaged by rascals turning it into an occasion for mobing.

The modern Abolitionists censure Church rule more bitterly even than Class rule. It is acknowledged the world over, that American liberty and progress was founded and reared by energetic Christian sentiments, and they are acknowledged to be the best under the circumstances.

If we should concede the justice of censure against an assumptive attitude of Christianity for arguments sake, still the questions arise: Would the rulership of the masses by an autocratic oligarchy of pseudo-laborfriends and the government of king Gambrinus constitute a more preferable Class rule? And what becomes of the liberty of other people, who will not submit to it? No, let it be known, that we want to redeem and maintain the day of the Lord as a holy day, not be given up to Mammon nor to Gambrinus. There is even among the Germans quite a little host, who are determined that Sunday belongs rather to the Church than to the Saloon.

Yes we witness to our surprise, the worst feature of all becoming apparent at this conjuncture of communism and infidelity. Both agree in their contempt for religion — crystallizing into leagues — turning a justifiable discontent with the anomalies of things into revolutionary designs.

We have pointed out, how systematical those coalitions are forming with the outspoken intention to upset Church and State commencing with the profanation of the Family by the communists, and the Sabbath by the saloonists.

But it must be remembered that, as it was the case with godless science trickling through the strata of society downward — so it is here again: The fraternizing schemers of intrigues are copying only from high society. Their combinations are cut after the pattern of Capital compacts, they were called forth by the necessity to compete with them.

While thus the friction between capital and labor affects the whole system of social life — we are in danger of having

the interests of Church and Capital, of Laborer and Libertine identified each with the other. But we will guard against such logic in due time.

All we resume for the present is this : The friction is heating the whole shaft of transmission in public life because the two ever antagonistic views of the world, spiritual and materialistic, are coming to an issue. And thus it will happen, that irreligionists of both camps, capitalists and communists, will fight out their egotism to their mutual destruction. The faithful however from both ranks, Capital and labor, will recollect their brotherhood, having one heavenly Father in common, will prosper after the law of survival of the fittest if you please, and will make and keep peace, and therefore "shall inherit the earth"! These are my views, and they imply a prospect so glorious, that I shall not be confused in the least if taken for a religious enthusiast!

Not understanding such philosophy, our opponents will, whilst we are singing hymns of joy and peace, keep up the warcry, that government and religion were a nuisance to their earthly heaven, put them aside, and the friction would cease. It is done in the same old manner, in which the apostles were condemned: "These men do exceedingly trouble our city — those that have turned the world upside down come hither also!"

Think of it, ye people, who took the oath of naturalization, accepting the hospitality of this country, earning the fruits of industry, which was established under unspeakable hardships by the ancestors of those you now regard as your enemies: should you be so importunate as to complain about encroachments upon personal liberty and religious

liberty — confessing at the same moment an utter disregard and indifference for any religion! Whose religious liberty do you pretend to protect? You are perfectly at liberty to turn your rooms into synagogues of . . . "force and matter", of fire and water, and to take revolution for your religion. But you need not expect of Christians, that they will stand idly by, without trying their utmost to frustrate your councils of war. Their high and holy interests being at stake, they will protect them at all hazards.

Yet on the other hand it must be remembered for the third time, that in the same manner, as we used to do at the instance of the spreading of materialism, and of the parasitic growths of capital and labor combinations, we are in this instance again obliged to take our share of the guilt and punishment of the crimes of FAMILY and SABBATH desecration, for not having kept more precious these only relics of paradise.

We dare not deny that even the so called "better classes" are full of SCANDALS, and that we make ourselves partakers at least by not testifying decidedly enough against the lust of the flesh and of the world. It is not less a vice against the FAMILY present and future, when churchgoing industrials employ youthful females at nightwork in factories, among almost irresistible temptations. That this sin comes home to rich parents, when their own children are seduced, I hardly need to mention.

And we must admit that Churchmembers of the industrial class, some of whom control the existence of thousands of households, are constantly employing large gangs of laborers on the sabbath day, depriving them of their only opportunity for mental and spiritual elevation. To

excuse such abuse is not our business. God only may grant excuse, if you have courage to ask for it of him. Industry has encouraged every invention, why has the one only been neglected, by which the running of shops on Sundays might be made unnecessary? Surely a great part of desecration of that day of bliss, which God would have entirely reserved for his service and his blessings, is justly reputiated to employers. For this sin also comes home in the form of retribution, when the works are lying idle, at such seasons, when business should run smoothest. Not to speak of the offence given to poor brethern in Christ and of the chance given to saloonists to get even with Christian Capitalists, twice odious to them, in asking the right for similar excuse and claiming the same privilege of running their business on Sundays.

Well after such a survey full of heartburns, we set to work different agencies, in order to initiate reforms, to stimulate the good tone of public opinion.

We try moral suasion, local option; legislate or at least lobby against this evil and that; organize charity and subscribe for objects of benevolence; make speeches, form clubs and leagues; found opposition papers; form an economic association; some promise to abandon strikes, and force upon us arbitration, cooperation; some council amelioration; others desire an outbreak the sooner the better, in hopes that by crushing opposition they would get rid of it for a good while and have things their own way; some talk about protection by U. S. Regulars; fancying that garrisons in the centres of population, where the materia's of a combustible nature are accumulating, would restrain mutineers from building barricades; others are convinced, that

only womensuffrage could save us from the growing majorities of foreigners! Until at last we are all getting tired and put in our resignations!

O do we really imagine, that either of these measures or all combined, well intended as they may be, even if they could be carried out successfully, could heal our breaches, could save us from an overthrow to the level of equality with the basest?

No. In view of the possibility of adding fuel to the CONSOLIDATING animosities of class hatred, aside from the folly of multiplying divergencies, we should not SPLIT our energy in the pursuance of problems of a subordinate character.

If we want to save whatever is worth preserving for the new era dawning upon us, we dare not go any further in such dangerous carelessness, such conceitful selfsecurity. The moral horizon is dark enough, without allowing in addition to the error of SELFDELUSION another error to cloud our prospects: I mean the fundamental ERROR OF SELFSALVATION!

The enmity of all anti-religionists, accelerating in a manner so simultaneous and systematic, should point out to us, where we derive our strength from, if we had not thought of it. After having interrogated antagonists, theorists and enthusiasts, having arrived at so many contradictions and disappointments, having found that, instead of squandering thought, time and money by distracted effords of holding outposts, meanwhile nearly neglecting our main position: we should at once rally around our banner, shoulder to shoulder, without distinction between capitalist and laborer!

The cross has been victorious time and again in disasters far more serious than the present commotion. Our own platform has triumphed in greater catastrophies and upon it we shall outlast the world!

Our review will not have been in vain, if such a resolution is confirmed within us, and if we have profited the intelligence, that there is something to **REFORM**, yea and to begin with it honestly: there are many things to **REPENT** of. As human advise is not always reliable and never recognized as binding by all, hence not able to give general satisfaction at a time, when people "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities"; since it cannot be made more evident, that social decomposition, in consequence of the epidemic of materialism, can only be counteracted by sound Christian ethics; that the social problem can only be solved by eternal council; that the course of human events is disposed by the Author of Destinies, not always minding the proposals of his creatures; yes, since to us Christians it is more than a mere dogma that every attempt to get along without or in spite of Christ, or to save humanity by self-invented contrivances, is a denial of that confidence and obedience, which capitalists as well as laborers owe to him alone as our King; since therefore our conviction is strengthened, that all other efforts will prove futile, that all we need is wisdom from on high and faith to lay hold upon his promises, and faithful performance of duty — why then, should we slight the Word of God and not ask, what answer the Most Worshipful Master has given upon the burning labor question in particular?

Have we not discovered that theories of the kind of Spencer's principles and Ward's substitutes, and the neglect

of the Word were the causes of a decline so pitiful and so sudden? Are we too, so shaken by skepticism, that we are afraid to enter our solemn protest, not as much against the unfortunate strikers as against Dynamic Sociology? No. We will raise protest in the form of a 'Divine Sociology"? The seats of danger are signalized. We are amply prepared to turn our attention to the only rescue. We will search for A biblical Science of Politcal Economy.

Sunbeams.

Before this however can help us any, we must consider in what way it could be rendered practicable. Objection will be raised immediatly against intermingling dogmatical subtleties, against draging religion into the social problem, intricate enough already. We shall be accused of ignorance with the cyclopian task of reform, if we undertake to adjust progress and social discort on the basis of Christian ethics.

But such objections are disarmed by expressions of the best minds and must illustrious thinkers of our time. They all feel, that just this is the danger of our present crisis: Much of public life, the pursuance of industry, commerce and society has lost the savor of Christian morals, is not permeated and animated by true religion. Even many adherents seem to be afraid, but what the power of Divine truth had become enervated in common with our whole age and generation.

Should the prediction really be fulfilled now on a large scale: "If the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall (the earth) be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be

cast out and to be trodden under foot of men?" God forbid!

Fortunately there are such divine statements, which can not be discarded as being disputable dogmas, but are selfevident and plain, so as to become almost underestimated on account of their simplicity for being too common place and lacking the attractions of speculative theories

And Christian ministers must not be reluctant to emphasize such truths. Indeed if Mr. Foran used biblical inferences in an adress to the laborers on the square of Cleveland last fall (which means a great deal for a Roman Catholic No-Bible-Christian) — if Mr. Jarrett indulged in that poor joke on religion, as though God did inspire the little boys to throw stones at the "scabs" in the Newburg strike several years ago; if the Chicago Internationalist journal carries as its motto the Mosaic passage: "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth": then the right must be conceded to us to fall back on our Bible!

It is the foundation of the civilization of the Caucasian race. The degrees of its code of social rights and duties, especially its impartiality, notwithstanding the privileges given to the poor and to the oppressed, are classic ever so much. All the erup'ions of history could not succeed in turning them over, they always proved the only reliable corner stones in the reconstruction of human affairs.

Noble efforts have been made, to bridge the chasm between progress and poverty, by calling Christian principles and biblical truths into play. Why have they been abandoned?

We are reminded of the plain language of Kingsley fourty years ago, when he arraingned the church for having

neglected the poor, for becoming a kind of police regulation, subservient to the ruling nobility, thereby estranging the masses from the influence of the Gospel and of the Church. Still Kingsley used that critiscism only to arouse the English nation, not disgracing Christianity but maintaining, with Guizot of France that the history of her institutions is the history of civilization, notwithstanding the mischieveous entanglements of interdenominational polemics.

Kingsley at that time supported Maurice in introducing Christian Socialism in England. At first he met the fate of Moses, who was snubbed by Pharao's arrogance, was insulted by the artifices of the priests, and rejected by the stupidity of his own race. Kingsleys sermon about liberty equality and fraternity was suppressed and prohibited — still his admonitions took roots. All sensible people coincided with the movement. His services for the good of his nation were not only recognized, but they have born fruit in neutralizing the elements of English Social democracy till the present day.

Why have people not followed in that direction? It was because in the first place, the Christian Socialists were misrepresented. Their motto : liberty etc. was denounced as a catchword of partisans, being the phrase of the revolution it sounded too radical ; although restored to its proper sense by Kingsley it retained a vulgar flavor.

Fitzjames Stevens argued, that the believers in religion of the fraternity had no solid ground beneath them. He points out, that we cannot expect all persons to love as brethren and sisters such, who continue to make themselves disagreeable, who identify themselves with sin, which moral people dare not cease to hate. He states, that

to him "there seems to be a great deal of selfdeception apparent, as to the nature of fraternity; that the feeling of indefinite sympathy, real or affected, was not always deserving of the admiration claimed for". He says in conclusion that the progress of civilization, the growth of wealth and physical science, and the general diffusion of comfort would not tend to deepen such sympathies. Contrary. It would tend to enable each man to stand alone, and to take care of his own interest. The human race and its relations were becoming so far reaching, their interests so complicated, that no one could honestly say, he loved it. You can at most fancy that you love some imaginary representation of bits of it, "but which, when examined, are only your own fancies personified". By such criticism Christian Socialism in England was eclipsed. It retired into laborers night schools and a college for National economy. It seems to revive now, to reappear better equiped, but not yet void of too much sentimentalism with classes, who scorn all amelioration that has a religious flavor.

We further have observed for the last decade the counteraction against German Social Democracy by Stoecker, who, like Kinsley, is a courtpreacher. He also, moved by devine impulse, demonstrates, that Christianity is not restricted to the preaching of the dogmas of spiritual salvation, but that it must care as well for the temporal wellfare of the oppressed and protect them if possible from political seduction. Their suspicion against the Church as being auxiliary to oppressive rule must be removed. They must be led to see, that she urges her truths impartially against the worldliness of the rich in all its force.

Now, why is Stoecker, the great Socialist, who showed

Bismarck the way to State Socialism, why is he also misunderstood, persecuted? Ah, some say his only motive was to preserve ecclesiastical prerogatives. And why so many others became his bitter adversaries, is not difficult to ascertain. There is a class of financial adventurers and capitalists in Germany, who do not, like the Capitalists of America, put their wealth into new industrial enterprises. When Stoeckers pen touched their assumptions, they naturally did not conceal their irritation, and having succeded by their shrewdness to get control of the press, they omitted no opportunity to scoff at him and to muzzle his mouth.

Such adverse experiments warn us to start in the right direction. They must fortify us against objections, which we must expect by reducing Divine Sociology to practice. We must not allow our opponents to be our interpreters. We must beware against such misconstruction, as labor papers put upon expressions of sympathy with the cause of honest laborers, making the public believe that the Clergy was endorsing their measures, when in fact we do never sanction a state within the state, a system of menace, mystification and intimidation. Let us not adopt the policy of expediency and accomodation of Ludwig XVI, who put the red Phrygian cap of liberty on his head in order to keep up his popularity. Let us not on the other hand coquet with capital, inferring such an idea, as was quoted by the "Workman" from a sermon of our city pastors, as though the Church would charge capitalists with a "price for her indorsement and support." As that price he stated allegiance to the Golden Rule, but malicious people might easily misconstrue it into a suspicious prejudice. And we must guard against the wrong impression, as if the

Church should engage in the reconstruction of society. This would serve to sanction the error of Socialism, which consists in the notion, that man was the product of circumstances, and that improvement of individual happiness could be accomplished by regulating his environments. If this supposition was true, the socialistic theory would be correct, and any interference of religion might be demured against. But it is false as Rev. Strong of Cincinnati says with precision:

"Socialism attempts to solve the problem of suffering without eliminating the facts of sin, to REFORM SOCIETY disregarding the REGENERATION of the INDIVIDUAL."

For this reason we assert, that the Church, in the sense of true Christianity organized, can do more than merely move the hands of the clock outwardly, by adapting itself to the signs of the times. By its means it creates and cultivates wise and virtuous sentiments, gives a correct view of self, of life and the world, transforms the mind to conformity with the requirements of unsophisticated happiness. But you cannot expect more fraternity from the Christian religion but that derived from the Lords prayer: Our father! And it can promise liberty only to those, whom the "Son shall make free indeed". If the charge is thrown up against the Church of incompetency to fulfill her mission, it is only the wrong conception of those, who mistake the purpose of the institution altogether.

This fault I find with Prof. Ely, when he says in a letter to the Board of Missions of the Congreg. Church in session at Saratoga last summer: "Early in his ministry Christ announced that he was send to preach to the poor. It seems to me, that Christianity has an immense advantage over every form of irreligion in dealing with the poor. It appeals irresitibly and naturally to them. Why is it then

that our Churches are filled chiefly with well to do, well dressed people, while those for whom our religion was specially (?) designed, are still left in the highways and behind the hedges? It is as I think, because the church has forgotten her missions; she has got on the wrong track; she has gone so far out of the way, that through her instrumentality it is harder for a poor man to be saved, than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle!"

In refutation of that charge we might argue, that it speaks well for the Church when even her earthly blessings are visible, of which the poor will surely partake by joining it, if they do it not merely for the sake of earthly advantages. No church has forgotten that the poor are her treasures, that the poor members necessity is the rich mans opportunity. Yet we will not excuse the Church. The censure we will admit as just in a measure. It will only tend to stimulate the Church in putting forth greater efforts to annihilate class distinctions within her bounds. But if she does, as Stöcker in Germany, why does then even Prof. Ely infer improper motives to his mode of labor, as though it was a trespass from his proper sphere?

The Church being a teacher of nations, acting as the conscience of humanity, must be careful not to become entangled with the offices of the state, not forgetting that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal." Public worship is not so much designed for discussions of topics of the times, as for prayer and STRICTLY RELIGIOUS EDIFICATION!

In repeating that the Church as such can not leave her province, still her adherents and servants must enter the field, where her godly seeds are to be sown. The neglect of this is undoubtedly ment by Prof. Ely in the words to

which we took reference. Upon the individual Christian the duty evolves, after having experienced a true change of mind and heart, a true conception of duties towards his surroundings, to put such new motives into practice, to help as a coworker with God in adjusting disturbed relations, in reconciling, pacifying ; to give an example of self-denial, sympathy, URBANITY and of that prepossessing state of mind, which is becoming a Christian under all circumstances ; by which he can best substantiate the truth, that happiness pure and simple does not depend on outward "environments". (to use Spencers language with his „if" of "all things being equal"). Thereby he will substantiate the truth, and apologize to the honor of Christs Church, that such a frame of mind and such strength for doing good is produced now as ever by the mysterious, but real and innate power of the religion of Jesus. Thus he will best be enabled to put to shame the religion of revolution.

It cannot be denied, that such people are still active. And it will be conceded, that, even if the motives and actions of all confessors of Christ were of that nature, there would STILL BE LEFT A SOCIAL PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED. Social life would still be a school, wherein we all must be trained in the exercise of Christian virtue, Christian manhood, Christian citizenship ; wherein we would be taught to work out, correctly if not perfectly, our lessons of social intercourse, forbearance, yea forgiveness. The task would remain, proving illusive the visions of either communistic or millenial dreams. But it would be made a success without any retrogression of what the unbelieving socialist is afraid, and without the disasters too, which he contemplates.

Now since the Church can not descend from pursuing her highest aims, yet she can originate and equip a new departure in the line of interdenominational activity. In the same manner, as benevolent societies, Y. M. Ch. Associations etc., are organized, so we must soon unite all single efforts simultaneously for the initiation of social reform by introducing Christian Socialism. Properly guided, I am convinced, such organizations of all laborers, not only manual but all laborers, would work like a charm.

For such a step our time is ripe. Whomsoever I approached with the idea approves of it, finds it recommendable. Such an organization of national import would develop aud adapt the fundamental bible doctrines, bearing on social economy, and by it actually adjust the deformities of existing society. These truths would be made more forcible, more illuminous by arranging them into a system and would by no means need much artifice of construction to suit the situation.

Looking over my old "Eclectics", searching for a certain article on the problem, which has engaged me these twenty years, I found to my astonishment, that to Emerson the same idea had suggested itself.

To the Senior Divinity class of Harvard University more than fifteen years ago he spoke:

"The evils of the church that now is are manifest. The "question returns: what shall we do? I confess, all "attempts to project and establish a new cultus, with new "rites and new forms seem to me in vain. Faith makes us, "and not we it, and faith makes its own forms.

"All attempts to contrive a new system are as barren as the new worship introduced by the French to the Godess

of Reason — to-day pasteboard and filagree and ending to-morrow in madness and murder. Rather let the breath of new life be breathed by you through the forms now existing. For if you are alive, you will find, that they are plastic and new .... The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures contain immortal sentences, which have been bread of life to millions. But they have no epical integrety — are not shown in their order to the intellect. I look for the new teacher, who shall follow so far this shining laws, that he shall see them come full circle ; .... shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that the Ought, "that duty is one with science, with beauty and with joy."

So I heard an esteemed friend say to another : "Are you the Moses, that will solve the social problem? We are only waiting for a leader in the movement."

Yes why is it so difficult to hitch Christianity to the progress of civilization? It is as Carlyle said, scornfully, thirty years ago : "the wealth is enchanted, art is enchanted, the science is enchanted. Who feel that they are really the better for them, give us there names."

It is your names we want. Are you enchanted too? and the press? and the pulpit? all entranced by Dynamic, materialistic Sociology? Even the prophet of Concord will look in vain for a new gospel, which will make the progress of civilization wholly beneficient. We are the ones, each of us, who are waited for, called upon!

The shining laws would come full circle fast enough, have been ready to do so any time these eighteen hundred years, if men would only let them. The teacher who has spoken the last and highest word to mankind, is asking our age by

such "vexations, which only teach us to understand the report"; as he has asked of the sixty generations of our fathers, who have come and gone since his day, the question which goes to the root of all problems of the time and of human life in general: "What think ye of Christ?"

Let us form such Christian associables as are outlined in the supplement or something similar to it; circles where may be studied and practiced by the rich and the poor those maximes which underlie all progress and happiness and let us apply them as God commanded through Moses and the prophets, Christ and the apostles, that they should be, for our own and for our country's sake

That would be the sphere, where the ethics of old texts in a new, systematic manner, as beeing authoritative for everybody could not only be brought home to the needs of the moment without much exegesis — but where also methods could be found for setting them into operation for practical ends.

I am aware of the difficulties; for it needs wisdom, patience, selfdenial, prejudices to be given up, class distinctions to be graded level, sneers of irreligionists and revolutionists to be endured. Still there are fortunes in it, blessings for a much troubled, for a so called civilized world.

Are there really no patriots, who will second the motion?

SUPPLEMENT.

OUTLINES OF A PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR A NEW LABOR ORGANIZATION.

Article I.

NAME:

Guild-Hall Association.

Article II.

PRINCIPLES:

As the Grand principle that underlies and governs the Action of this Body, we accept the following: The relations of the different component parts of Modern Society must be adopted to the altered condition of things, by the full and impartial application of Christs *Golden Rule.* This alone can satisfactorily solve the labor question and all kindred problems, and insure the true development of Christian Civilization.

Article III.

OBJECT:

1. Amelioration of the condition of laboring men and of the relations between labor and capital, by an association of such citizens, as desire to accomplish necessary reforms but discountenance the use of revolutionary measures.

Such amelioration is to be sought by the following means:

2. Adjustment of disturbed relations between fellow laborers and between laborers and their employers in cases of minor importance by a Standing Committee.

3. Redress of serious grievances by creation of Courts of Arbitration, chosen by both parties.

4. Protection against encroachments upon the right of free speech and against intimidation by opponents, be they employers or employees.

5. Material intellectual and moral elevation of laboring men and their families, by aiding them to acquire healthy homes, by furthering rational colonization schemes, by influencing legislation in favor of the cause of social reform.

6. Mutual aid in securing work, and material support in cases of sickness, accident, and of destitution of widows and orphans of members.

7. By arrangements of cultivating the mind, heart and social nature, viz: Publication and distribution of sound literature in the interest of the labor cause, pertaining to questions of the times, social problems, industrial conditions, inventions etc ; public discussions, lectures, evening entertainments ; propagation of true principles, adapted to regulate and develop the relations between labor and capital.

Article IV.

ORGANIZATION OF BRANCH-SOCIETIES.

A. Membership.

1. We seek to protect this society against subversive influences on the part of adversaries not by resorting to secrecy under oath, but by dividing its membership into different grades.

2. Members. Every laboring man, who bears a good character as a citizen, may become a member, when on presentation of his name by a member of the 1st or 2nd grade he is accepted by a majority ballot vote of all members present at any regular business meeting.

3. Any citizen who favors the cause of this organization may be received into this society as an honorary member by unanimous viva voce vote.

4. First grade of membership: GRANDMASTERS are such Masters, as have resided at least ten years in the U. S.; possess a homestead or equivalent property and are elected by two thirds vote of the members of the local branch-society. The ratio for the Bench of Grandmasters shall not be more than FOUR to every ten voting members.

5. Second grade: MASTERS are such members as are naturalized (if not native) citizens and have worked at least one year in the same shop.

6. Third grade: FELLOWS are such voting members as are employees above 18 years of age, but lack the requirements of the higher grades. They are elligible only to the office of secretaries of local branches and into the Committee of Arrangements.

7. Fourth grade: APPRENTICES are all sons of members of preceding grades from 15 to 18 years of age, and other employees, who are introduced by a member of grade I or II.

8. The presence of two thirds of the members of each the I. and II. grade is necessary to form A QUORUM for the transaction of business.

B. OFFICERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

1. PRESIDING GRAND MASTER: To be elected from the Bench of Grand Masters by a two thirds ballot vote of members of grades I and II present at the annual business meeting. He presides over the meeting of the Branch and is chairman of the Committee of adjustments and of the Executive-Committee.

2. Three VICE-PRESIDING GRAND MASTERS. Elected in the same way and at the same time as the Presiding Grand Master and perform his duties in his absence according to priority of election.

3. SECRETARY: eligible from the three upper grades by majority ballot vote of the voting membership at the annual meeting. He keeps the records and archives of the Society

and in case of absence, must send the same to one of the Presiding Grand Masters, whereon the actually Presiding Grand Master will appoint a Secretary pro tem.

4 Treasurer: to be elected in the same way and time as the Presiding Grand Masters. He is required to furnish security by the Board of Trustees. He has charge of the funds of the Branch, makes collections and payments and investments by ordre of the Executive Committee ; keeps accounts and reports the condition of the Treasury at every business meeting, and to the Executive-Committee as often as the latter calls for it.

C. Committees.

Executive-Committee.

1. This consists of the Presiding Grand Master and three Masters, elected at the annual meeting or in case of vacancy occurring, at a special meeting called for the purpose, of which public announcement must be made two weeks before ; by two thirds ballot vote of the voting members present. Three will constitute a quorum.

This Executive Committee represents the Society as a Board of Trustees in all its legal relations ; executes the ordres of the society, manages its business affairs, examines complaints and also subjects proposed for discussion, and decides, whether they shall be presented to the society. This Committee also appoints the Standing Committee of Arrangements and the special Committees necessary.

2. Committee of Adjustments.

Consists of seven members, elligible two from the bench of Grand Masters, two from the Masters, and three from Honorary members. Mode of election, the same as for Executive-Committee. This Committee will act upon matters of complaint, which before must have been examined by the Executive Committee, in order to give advice to contending parties, and adjust minor difficulties between employees, who are members in good

standing. If decisions of this Committee are not sustained by a majority ballot vote of members of Grades I and II, appeal may be taken to the Court of Arbitration, created by the State Convention, if notice of appeal is given as soon as the decision is known to the party aggrieved, and reasons for complaint stated in writing are filed with the secretary of the branch society and with the Chairman of the Court of Arbitration inside of four weeks after announcement of the decision.

3. Committee of Correspondence.

Consisting of five, one from Grade I, two from Grade II and III each, to be appointed by the bench of Grand Masters. Its duties are: Correspondence with reference to interchange of delegates with other branches ; to prepare the way for organization of new branches ; to draw up resolutions of condolence ; to conduct correspondence with employers, benevolent societies, regular newspapers in the service of this organization ; to give information and council to those seeking employment ; to secure all printed matter of other labor societies ; to correspond with such persons, as are desired to deliver free lectures, and with all organizations in favor with the cause of our own. All papers need to be countersigned by the Presiding Grand Master in order to become official documents.

4. Committee of Arrangements.

Consisting of two of grades I and II each, two of grade III and three or more ladies, appointed by the Executive Committee. It is to have charge of all arrangements for meetings, festivals, lectures and all social entertainments.

Article V.

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

1. Meetings.

The local Branch-Societies are called Guilds, and convene at their appointed places on each 2nd and 4th Monday

of each month at 7.30 P. M. Sessions for transaction of business of the Guilds may after adjournment of the evening entertainment be called to order by the Presiding Grand Master or either one of the Vice Presiding Grand Masters, and must be called if any five voting members call for such a session by request in writing with the subject specified. Otherwise the evenings are spent as the Committee of Arrangements has arranged for instructive lectures, interchange of views or social entertainments etc.

2. No meeting shall be held on Sunday.

3. On the second Monday of each year there shall be held a General Convention of each Guild for the purpose of reading the reports of the Preciding Grand Masters and of the Treasurer, also of the chairmen of the Standing Committees, in the order given by the By-Laws.

Special attention is to be given to propositions, which shall be carried to or received from the State Guild.

The annual elections will then take place and the annual fees, fifty cents from every member, are to be paid into the hands of the Secretary, who will forward them to the Treasurer after giving credit for each payment on the roll of membership.

4. This annual General Convention shall also elect by ballot majority a number of delegates and alternate delegates, in proportion of one to every twenty members or fraction thereof out of Grades Ist and IInd, to represent the Local Guild in the State Guild.

5. Double sets of candidates for all these offices are nominated by the Bench of Grand Masters and must be exhibited at the place of meeting at least two weeks before the day of election.

6. Every Guild may transact its business in a language its majority chooses. But the translations of this Constitution must be authorized by the General Council.

Article VI.

ANNUAL STATE GUILDS.

1. Are conducted in the English language and consist of the delegates of the Guilds, at the rate given § 4, Art. V. The officers of the preceding year will constitute a committee on credentials and call the State Guild to order, as soon as the credentials of a quorum of at least fourty delegates, representing not less than four Guilds or Branch Societies are found valid. The officers of the preceding year continue in office until their successors are elected. The first business after roll call and opening prayer, is the election of officers for the ensuing year. After the election of officers the reports of the different Guilds are read, standing Committees appointed by the Grand Chair Master are announced and miscellaneous business to be acted upon.

2. The creation for a Court of Arbitration is left to the discression of the State Guild but after being instituted will serve as a Board until the next annual meeting. This Board shall have power to decide appeals carried up from Guilds in proper order and shall also have power to fill vacancies occurring between annual meetings.

3. The State Guild has power to authorize the formation of Guilds or to declare such dissolved by two thirds majority.

4. Alterations of amendments to this Constitution may be proposed to the meeting of the Grand Guild only by State Guilds. And such shall be binding for all Guilds after having received the sanction of the Grand Guild.

5. The rate of representation of State Guilds in the Grand Guild shall be five for each Guild represented in the State Guilds. The Presiding Grand Chair Master and Grand Secretary of each State Guild are members ex officio of the Grand Guild, to which they have to report.

6. The first organized Guild in each State shall appoint the first place of meeting for the State Guild.

7. The time for each State Guild shall be the first Monday evening in May.

Article VII.

THE GRAND GUILD.

1. Consists of all representatives duely elected by the State Guilds It meets biennially at the time and place appointed by last congress of the Grand Guild. Time and place of the first Grand Guild shall be announced by the State Guild first in organized.

2. Grand Guild shall be called to order after the credentials of at least three State Guilds have been found in order by the ex officio members (see § 5 Art. VI.)

3, The officers for the Grand Guild, one Presiding Grand Chair Master and as many Vice Preciding Grandmasters as State Guilds are represented, one Secretary and as many assistant secretaries as languages are represented, one Treasurer and one Sargent at Arms are elected always by majority ballot vote.

4. These officers constitute the General Council, which shall have power to call Special State Guild conventions ; to create and superindent organisations for mutual aid and also a Committee of Publication ; to inaugurate a system of cooperative stores ; to correspond with Boards of Arbitration etc.

5. The General Council shall elect a Committee at interim, the members of which shall be located near enough to each other to enable them to meet frequently. They shall act for the General Council, to which they are responsible.

Article VII.

UNCHANGEABLE ARTICLES.

Art. I, II. III, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7. IV, A. 1. 3, 4, 5, 8. IV, B. 1, 2. IV, C, 1. V, 2, 6. VI, 1, 2, 4.

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